

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 116614
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY: S/S:PSEBASTIAN
APPROVED BY: S/S:SEBASTIAN
-----201650Z 105310 /50
O 201600Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 116614

NODIS
FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

FOLLOWING IS REPEAT VIENNA 4122, SENT SECSTATE 20 MAY:

QUOTE S E C R E T VIENNA 4122

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE, ATTN: DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPT PASS GENEVA EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY VANCE

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, (MONDALE, WALTER F.) US, SF, RH
SUBJECT: FIRST MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING, MAY 19

SUMMARY: DURING INITIAL SESSION, ON RHODESIA, VICE PRESIDENT
MONDALE SET FORTH U.S. SUPPORT FOR OWEN INITIATIVE AND
EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WITH CLEAR GUARANTEES FOR
ALL, WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE ELECTIONS WITH FULL PARTICIPATION,
AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978. VORSTER STATED
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THAT HE HAD NOT KNOWN OF CHANGE IN U.S. ATTITUDE CONCERNING
CONCEPT OF ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THAT SOUTH AFRICA
WOULD NOW HAVE TO RESERVE ITS POSITION. VORSTER BLAMED
NATIONALISTS FOR VIOLENCE AND FAILURE OF EARLIER EFFORTS
TO REACH RHODISIAN SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING INITIAL PHOTO SESSION AT HOFBURG CONFERENCE
ROOM, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, JOINED BY AARON, AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, JOINED BY BOTHA, MET PRIVATELY
AS PER EARLIER AGREEMENT. DURING THAT SESSION,

WHICH LASTED APPROXIMATELY 35 MINUTES, VORSTER OPENED BY CRITICIZING PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT EARLIER THIS WEEK ON THE NEED FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHER AFRICA, THEN TURNED TO A REQUEST FOR MORE C-130'S AND SHACKLETON SPARE PARTS.

2. PRINCIPLES THEN RETURNED TO OPEN SESSION. ON SOUTH AFRICAN SIDE WERE, IN ADDITION TO VORSTER AND BOTHA, VAN DEN BERGH, FOURIE, SOLE, FRANKLIN, AND EKSTEEN. WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT AND AARON WERE AMBASSADORS BOWDLER AND MCHENRY, LAKE, CLIFT, JOHNSON, AND KATZEN. AS AGREED, OPENING SESSION WAS DEVOTED TO DISCUSSION OF RHODESIA, AND LASTED 2 HOURS.

3. SOUTHERN RHODESIA: VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SET FORTH USG SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN SECRETARY OWENS' INITIATIVE AND EFFORTS TO DRAFT A CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL LEAD TO FREE ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE DURING 1978. WHILE THE ORIGINAL SUGGESTION WAS TO HAVE A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AS PART OF THE PROCESS, HE SAID WE NOW ARE BEGINNING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE HOPE THAT A CONSENSUS WILL RESULT CONCERNING A CONSTITUTION. WE HAVE APPOINTED A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT, AMBASSADOR LOW, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS. WE HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ENCOURAGE SMITH TO WORK WITH THE PROCESS, SUPPORTING FREE ELECTIONS WITH ALL PARTICIPATING, AND AN

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INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN ZIMBABWE IN 1978. WE HAVE NOT DEVELOPED DETAILS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION; THESE ARE FOR THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS TO DETERMINE. THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP WILL BE IN SALISBURY, MAY 2223.

4. VORSTER REVIEWED EATIER SMITH EFFORTS TO REACH A SOLUTION, BEGINNING IN 1973. HE OUTLINED SOUTH AFRICAN STEPS TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER, INCLUDING THE LIBERATION OF NKOMO AND SITHOLE. SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL TIMES HAS BEEN PREPARED TO HELP, AND IS PREPARED NOW. SMITH IS WILLING TO FIND A SOLUTION; HE WILL ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE, WHICH MEANS BLACK RULE. BUT WITH WHOM IS HE TO NEGOTIATE? GENEVA SHOWED HOW SPLIT THE NATIONALISTS ARE. MUGABE HAS A 2-3 PERCENT FOLLOWING; NKOMA 10-12 PERCENT, MUZOREWA 70 PERCENT; AND CHIRAU, THE REST. SOUTH AFRICA, THOUGH, WILL NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF A SOLUTION. INDICATIVE OF THAT WERE VORSTER'S "CONFIDENTIAL" TALKS WITH CHIVANDUKA IN CAPETOWN, TWO MONTHS AGO.

5. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE COMMENTED THAT PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE MANY DIFFERENT GROUPS HAVING DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES, IT WAS DESIRABLE TO PROCEED NOW WITH A PROCESS WHICH

WOULD LEAD TO A CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.
BUT, WE DO NOT WISH TO CHOOSE THE LEADERS. VORSTER
INTERJECTED THAT IF AN ELECTION WERE HELD TOMORROW
IN RHODESIA, MUSOREWA WOULD BE ELECTED OVERWHELMINGLY.
VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE REPLIED THAT THE CRUCIAL ELEMENT
ISNOT WHO IS ELECTED BUT THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE HELD,
IN A SPIRIT OF FAIRNESS, EQUALITY, AND INTEGRITY.
THIS IS OUR OBJECTIVE,AND WE BELIEVE IT WILL LEAD TO
THE CREATION OF A MODERATE GOVERNMENT. HE AGAIN
APPEALED TO SOUTH AFRICA TO INFLUENCE SMITH TO ACCEPT
THE PROCESS AND THE RESULTS OF FAIR ELECTIONS. WE
WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE WITH WHOM WE HAVE INFLUENCE.

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6. VORSTER STATED THAT SMITH ALREADY HAD ACCEPTED
THE PROCESS, WHICH HAD CAUSED A REBELLION WITHIN HIS OWN
POLITICAL PARTY. THE QUESTON REMAINS: TO WHOM SHOULD
HE TURN OVER POWER? THE IDEAL WOULD BE A REFERENDUM
AMONG BLACKS TO CHOOSE A LEADER WHO, IN TURN, WOULD
NEGOTIATE THE TURNOVER WITH SMITH. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT
THE BLACKS HAVE ALREADY REJECTED THIS "INTERNAL OPTION",
AND THE OWEN MISSION SEEKS TO CIRCUMVENT THAT VERY
PROCESS. WE REJECT THE INTERNAL OPTION. WE ARE NOT AS
SURE AS VORSTER THAT SMITH HAS FULLY ACCEPTED THE PROCESS.
VORSTER REPLIED THAT IN SMITH'S AND KISSINGER'S PRESENCE,
HE, VORSTER, HAD SPECIFICALLY SAID THAT IF SMIGH DID NOT
ADHERE TO THE FIVE POINTS SMITH HAD ACCEPTED, VORSTER
WOULD DROP HIM. VORSTER ADDED THAT HE ALSO HAD
SAID HE WOULD GUARANTEE SMITH HONORED HIS COMMITMENTS.
"I CAN'T DO ANY MORE", HE ADDED. "IF SMITH AGREES
TO THE ELECTION PROCESS, I WILL SUPPORT THE RESULTS".

7. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT AGREEMENT SEEMED
TO EXIST NOW ON THAT POINT. HE ADDED THAT WHILE WE
SEEK MAJORITY RULE, WE DO NOT SAY THAT THIS NECESSARILY MEANS
BLACK MAJORITY RULE. BLACKS OFTEN ARE ELECTED IN
PRIMARILY WHITE ELECTORATES AND VICE VERSA, IN THE
UNITED STATES. VORSTER WAS QUICK TO RESPOND THAT ONE
COULD NOT EQUATE THE UNITED STATES SITUATION TO THAT
EXISTING IN EITHER RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA.

8. VORSTER ADDED THAT A GUARANTEE STILL WAS NEED FOR
WHITES AND ASKED FOR IT FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT OR OWEN.
THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT THE MORE PROMPT THE
PROGRESS TO HONEST MAJORITY GOVERNMENT, WITH
CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTON OF PERSONAL LIBERTIES, PROPERTY,
RELIGION, AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE, WITH AN INDEPENENT
JUDICIARY, THE MORE ATTRACTIVE IT WOULD BE FOR ALL TO
REMAIN IN RHODESIA. THESE RIGHTS WOULD GUARANTEE WHAT THE
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WHITES SEEK. VORSTER RESPONDED THAT SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES WOULD NOT MEAN ANYTHING, BUT THAT IF THE AMERICANS STATED THAT THEIR OBJECTIVES INCLUDED SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND THE MAJORTIY OF BLACK RHODESIANS WOULD ACCEPT. SO WOULD THE SAG. SUCH ASSURANCES, COUPLED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND (AND ITS INCLUSION IN THE CONSTITUTION) WOULD LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT. "IF YOU CAN GUARANTEE NKOMO AND MUGABE FALL INTO LINE", HE SAID, "I WILL GUARANTEE SMITH DOES".

9. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT WHILE WE CAN'T GUARANTEE RESULTS, OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO PURSUE THE OWEN

MISSION AND, AS PART OF THE PROCESS TRY TO GAIN FRONT LINE SUPPORT, AND DO WHAT WE CAN TO SUPPORT AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT ONCE IT IS ESTABLISHED. SPECIFICALLY WE ASK VORSTER:

A) FOR SAG SUPPORT, HOPEFULLY PUBLICLY, FOR THE OWEN MISSION;

B) TO PRESS SMITH TO NEGOTIATE FOR MAJORITY RULE, ATTAINED THROUGH FAIR ELECTIONS, IN 1978;

C) TO OBTAIN SMITH'S AGREEMENT TO INDEPENDENCE AT THAT DATE;

D) FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO WORK AS WE WILL WITH A ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT THUS CHOSEN;

E) TO HELP IN REDUCING TENSIONS WHICH TEAR AT THAT PROCESS.

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10. VORSTER CAME UP SHARPLY, SAYING THAT HE DID NOT LIKE THE WORD "PRESSURE", THAT HE HAD NEVER PRESSED SMITH; INSTEAD, "I TALK SENSE TO HIM". VORSTER REITERATED THAT THE PROBLEM IN RHODESIA IS NOT SMITH, BUT THE NATIONALISTS. HE RETURNED TO HIS ARGUMENT FAVORING AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA THEN, FEIGNING COMPROMISE, SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT HIS SECOND CHOICE, WHICH WOULD BE ALONG THE LINES OF OWEN'S PROPOSAL. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION, HE REPEALED, WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE ALL ELEMENTS THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD DESCRIBED AND US/UK GUARANTEES THAT THE ELECTED GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE UPHELD AND NOT BE OVERTHROWN FROM THE OUTSIDE, AND THAT SANCTIONS WOULD BE LIFTED.

11. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF THE ZIMBABWE FUND, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE ENVISAGED IT AS HELPING IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND TRAINING: THAT WAS THE PATH TO ECONOMIC STABILITY. WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER OTHER KINDS OF HELP TO STRENGTHEN AGAINST THE FEARS AND THREATS VORSTER HAS MENTIONED. WE CANNOT GUARANTEE THAT THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WILL CHOOSE A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL RENOUNCE ALL PUBLIC OWNERSHIP. BUT, THE CONSTITUTION WOULD INCORPORATE GUARANTEES ON CONFISCATION. THE FUND ITSELF CANNOT BE USED SIMPLY TO BUY OUT WHITES.

12. BOTHA REACTED IN A PATENTLY OVER-DRAMATIC FASHION. HE DESCRIBED AGREEMENTS AS HAVING BEEN REACHED IN THE DEPARTMENT WHEREBY THE FUND WAS TO HAVE A COMPENSATORY FUNCTION. HE SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN TOLD THERE WERE TO BE FORMAL QUARANTEES THAT A "SLIDING SCALE" OF COMPENSATIONS WOULD BE PAID IF THINGS WENT BADLY AND WHITE RHODESIANS WANTED TO LEAVE. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD CHANGED ITS THINKING ON THIS. BOTHA CLAIMED THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD OF IT, THAT HE HAD

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TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER THAT THE FUND WAS "STILL ALIVE". THE VICE PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT IT IS, BUT THAT IT IS NOT A SAFETY NET OR A "BUY OUT" FUND; INSTEAD, THE FUND WOULD BE USED TO HELP ENSURE FAIR TREATMENT AND BUILD CONFIDENCE. CONGRESS WOULD NOT SUPPORT A "BUY OUT" FUND. BOTHA RETORTED THAT THIS WAS "A DRAMATIC AND RADICAL CHANGE". LAKE AND AARON THEN OUTLINED OUR PHILOSOPHY OF THE FUND. THE SOUTH AFRICANS REPLIED THAT THE BRITISH HAD NOT TOLD THEM OF ANY CHANGE. BOTHA AND VORSTER WENT ON AT LENGTH ABOUT HOW THIS "CHANGE" PUT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF A RHODESIA SETTLEMENT IN JEOPARDY.

13. THE VICE PRESIDENT AGREED TO LOOK INTO THE QUESTION AT LUNCH TIME, AND TURNED TO THE MATTER OF INCURSIONS BY SMITH FORCES. VORSTER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BOTH SIDES WERE ESCALATING THE VIOLENCE AND STRESSED THAT ON MANY OCCASIONS SOUTH AFRICA HAD SERVED AS CHANNEL TO COMMUNICATE APPEALS TO SMITH. BUT, VORSTER ADDED, RHODESIA HAS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT ITS OWN POPULATION, AND FRONT LINE STATES MUST DO THEIR PART TO RESTRAIN NATIONALISTS. VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT AS PRACTICAL MATTER, THE SITUATION WILL NOT IMPROVE UNLESS THERE IS PROGRESS TOWARD ELECTIONS AND INDEPENDENCE. VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER AGREED THAT U.S. AND SAG WOULD USE WHAT INFLUENCE THEY HAVE ON BOTH SIDES. BEFORE BREAKING FOR LUNCH, VICE PRESIDENT AND VORSTER AGREED

NOT TO SPEAK TO PRESS AT THIS TIME. MEEHAN UNQUOTE.

CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-C, MEETING REPORTS, SELFDETERMINATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 20-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE116614
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/S.PSEBASTIAN
Enclosure: EYES ONLY FOR SECRETARY VANCE
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: N770003-0446
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197705110/baaaevzv.tel
Line Count: 276
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 916ce888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2346255
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FIRST MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING, MAY 19
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, PDEV, US, SF, RH, (MONDALE, WALTER F), (VORSTER, BALTHAZAR JOHANNES)
To: MAPUTO
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/916ce888-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009